[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Gêryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
[233] flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ăli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

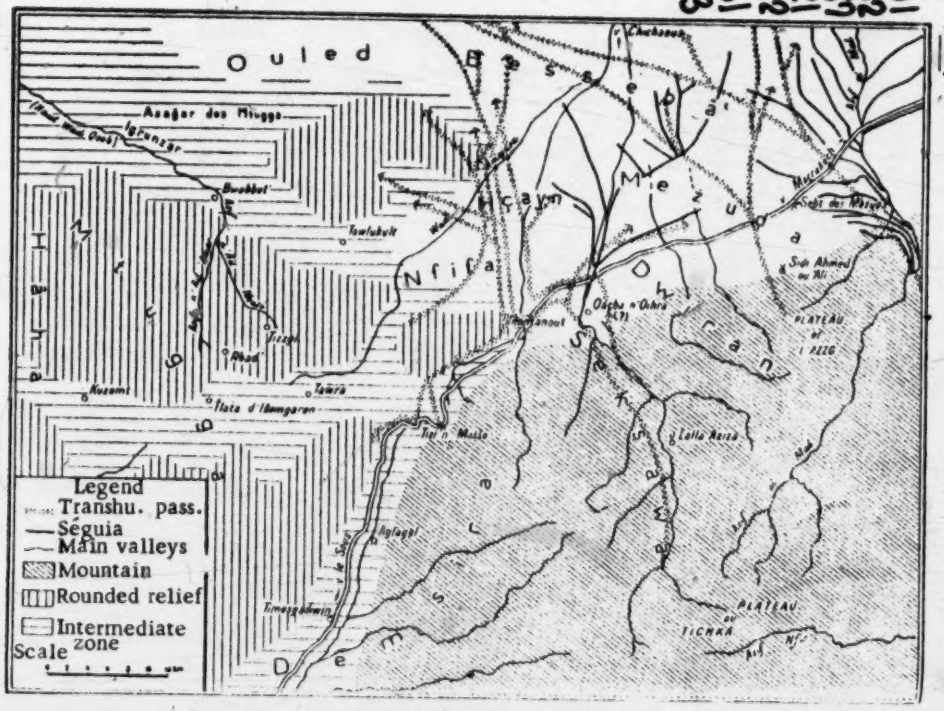

Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 648 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and [241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well- 221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun- 619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within [171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in 241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each 221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below. [343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified [712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

/103 cont./

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[171]

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of
[171] Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the
[361] tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

/104 cont./

171 of the Sa'adians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century, X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter
•221 sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of
648 a state of things when the ground of Inzzlyma, downstream from
221 Bul^{c}wân, long contested by the Ud Besseba^{c}, was the dâr al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible
[423] vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that
[427] they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchû^{c} or lmuch^{c}, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/104 cont./

174 648 221 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba[C], will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the system of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba[C] for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Âbdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

[312]

174 221 121 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./

174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

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1. It is the sâh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldûn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qâhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sâh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often 241 clearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which 312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skilful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

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Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the
221 oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-
[648] raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba[c]. Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between
241 the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of
[317] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
24 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[31] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseb[c] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
• 221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 22 [171] /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 24 [342] Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/111 cont./
246 675 prohibiting cutting or opening the $ag^{w}mi$ constitutes an important event in village life (2).

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2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our $ag^{w}mi$, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: $ag^{w}dal$).

246 675 634 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn. The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was [175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance, 675 221 178 although coming out of this international law, refer still today to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

675 /112 cont./
221 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especially Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1),

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

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171 2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq., On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lɛzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

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Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

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[634]

This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-
[273] making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[832] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

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weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^{c} confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^{c}Abdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba^{c}, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^{c}, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

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The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
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1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversi-
bility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
[312] whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A
low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different
rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts
of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would
not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more
/116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty
pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes
from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no
longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in
it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkasit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

/116 cont./
000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[48] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[69] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 431 233 221 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^{c} girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hesitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 221 233 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Seksawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, although decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouīa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by [571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^{c}qil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

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the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

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In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

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or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

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2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
174 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing
648 the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

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/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

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Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

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1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

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The Agricultural Calendar

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Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the šchura or amšchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

[539] [233] [196]

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

[539] [178]

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221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqəleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. [539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

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22 24 [539] [233] F^{W}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign. The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{W}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr, "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggravation. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch [233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the [539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{W}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what [539] a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 241 [312] of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream, this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-

[233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The

[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.

[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the

[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[82] [539] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht, uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

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221 241 82 [539] also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy." A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that, even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 241 171 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfolding of the campaign with the succession of the different activities. It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu, 221 241 182 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

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[184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

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[132] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
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[103] momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlil̈n, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naftjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Lh'sen]

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128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

• 221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e}) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called imârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ijâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

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3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the
796 population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there
533 are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt,
[514] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Abdella]

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Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sîdi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sîdi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sîdi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

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221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâîd.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
	Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
	The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâîd, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

796 798 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221 241 796 798 782 796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acdduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 982 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
		Sidi Tifawt.		
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d. are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract. [241] [221]

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [634] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1). [312] [423]

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, 794 [592] almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And in- 794 613 deed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also [592] breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

•221 233 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 *631 177 578 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be introduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose frequency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 175 178 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs, which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
•221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[104] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower moun-
tains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all culti-
vated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher moun-
tains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high moun-
tains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of fami-
lies may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
• [221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirá (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-
541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this else-
where.